

THE SHORT LIFE

A N D

Much lamented Death of that
most magnanimous Prince,

H E N R Y,

Prince of VVales.

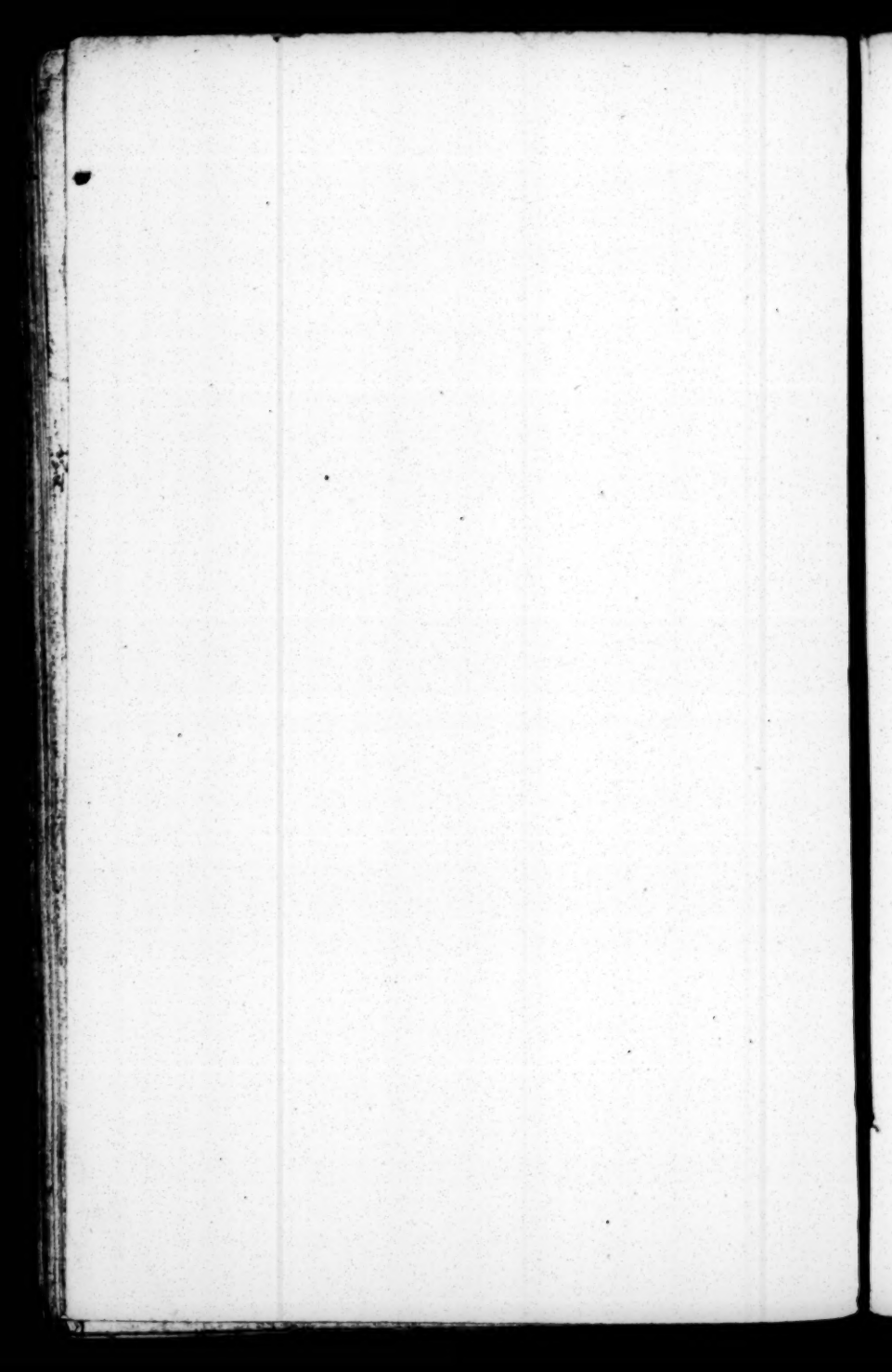
Wherein the whole manner of
his life, and specially of his sick-
ness, and cause of his death,
is set forth at large.

*Written by Sir Charles Cornewallis,
Treasurer of his Highnesse Houshold, a
man very intimate with him in
the whole course of his life,
and at his death.*



Printed in the Yeere,

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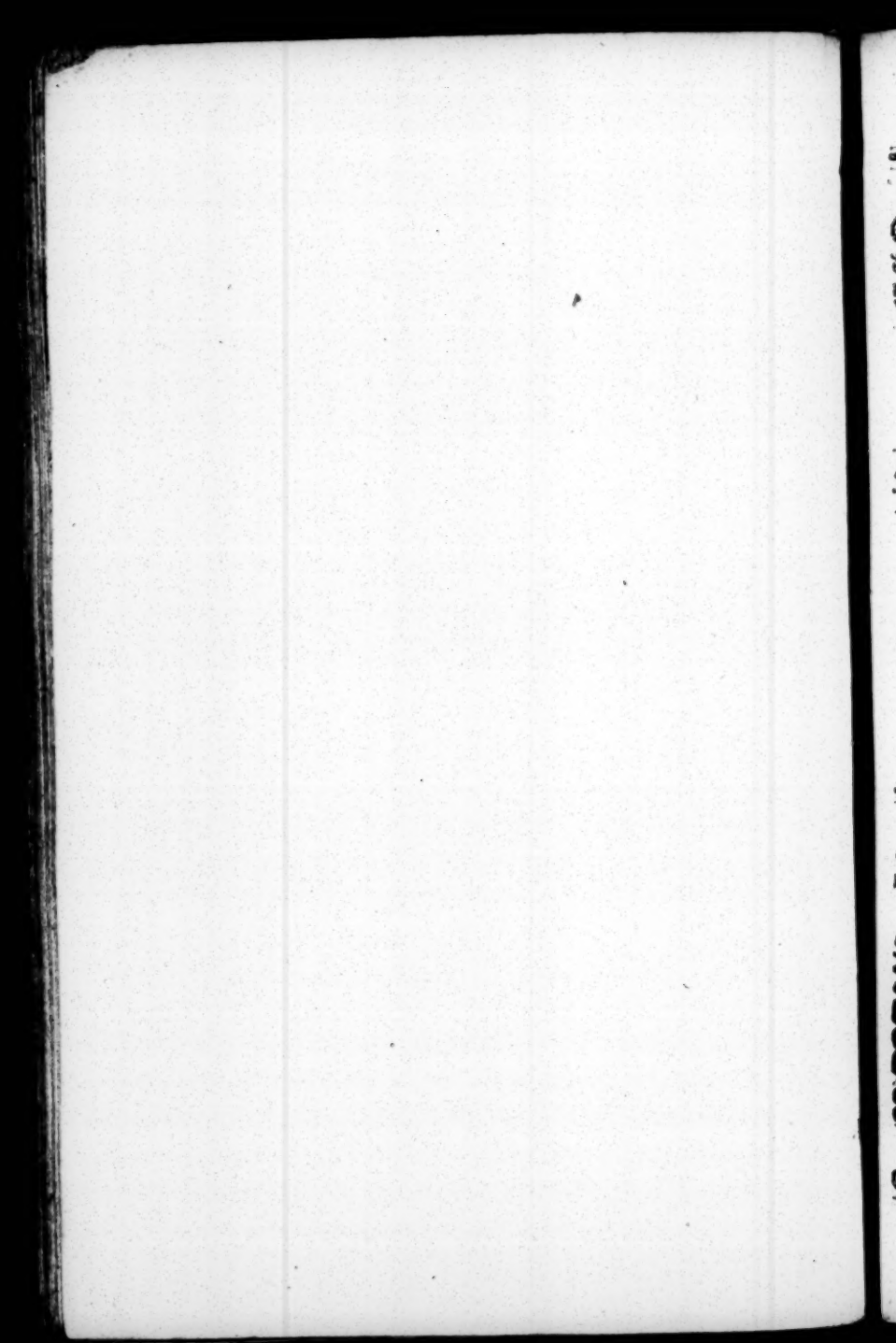
TO THE
HIGH AND MIGHTY
PRINCE CHARLES,
Prince of WALES, &c.

SIR,



*Inding this Manuscript, amongst
others, I could not passe by it, as I
did the rest: The subiect thereof
being so rare a Prince, as it may
seeme worthy Your Highnes perusal: In rea-
ding Him You may read Your self, His Titles of
Honour were the same with Yours: Your titles of
Vertues the same with His: He was, as You are
the Mirror of the age; which, that You may
still continue, shall ever be the prayer of*

Your Highnes most humble
servant, N. B.





THE
LIFE AND DEATH
OF
HENRY,
Prince of WALES.

SIR,



Our imposed taske, when
with the eyes of my mind I
considered, I found such a
multitude of letts and rubs
herein, that it seemed un-
to me a thing impossible to
dare to looke after, much more to advent-
ture

ture to write any thing touching the *Life* and *Death* of our late most noble, and ever renowned Prince, whose high soaring thoughts, because the world was not able to containe, the heaven of heavens vouchsafed to entertaine ; for both his farre every where renowned Fame thoroughout this Isle, and the whole world being too great, that who should adventure to say any more, should but in vaine adde water to the Sea: As also the numbers of others neerer unto him, of most assured knowledge, and better judgement, all which knew him a great deale better then I, being able to give the world and you more full and absolute satisfaction ; together with the multitude and divers sorts of Religious, wise, grave, judicious, learned, Critticke, and curious censurers ; all who, if it should happen but once to peepe into the world, for the welbeloved subject therof, would greedily entertane and welcome the same, with their divers humors, and piercing judgements. These, and many more, with the conscience of my unworthines, & insufficiencie to performe so high a task, (which rather

rather would become some *Homer, Virgil, Demosthenes, Cicero*, or rather some one in whom all their excellencies are combined, to performe aright) like mountaines appeared at first in my way; yet because (as one saith) *In magnis voluisse sat est*, rather then it should not be done at all, and with the losse, the remembrance also perish, how and in what manner we lost so brave a Prince. Sometime the expectation of the world, and that it might for ever be knowne unto it, and you both, how exceeding great this last duty is, which I owe to the dead, as also how absolutely you may command him, whom your love long since hath strictly bound to be perpetually yours, in place of a better, I haue adventured upon these ensuing conditions, to lanch out my fraile barke, into that great Ocean of sorrow, even from the cradle to the grave, whence storme-beaten as you see, I have with much adoe recovered my desired haven. First, that whatsoever distaste you finde therein of any thing, you would not impute it to any presumption of mine, but rather to my frailty and ignorance, which

(rather then to offend you) I have herein bewrayed: Next, that whatsoever is here written of his late Highnesse, not content herewith, you would only use the same as a Ladder to mount up your thoughts to a far more excellent meditation of his vertues; further also that you would not be too busie upon this report to censure any of your Phisitians, or any other, al whom, I protest, I have endeavoured to please, without partiality, so farre, as in my judgement, the truth would suffer me, rather imputing the blame unto my relation, then any of their actions. As also, that with your accustomed patience, you would delay to censure me for this letter, untill with mature judgement you have thoroughly perused the same, considering how much more easie it is to censure others, then to doe well our selves. Again, that since the way by which I must passe, is through a long, darke, silent, solitary, untroden path, leading even to the chambers of death, fraught altogether with sorrow, ending in teares, wherein I cannot chuse (but by the excesse thereof) many times fall, stumble, and misse of my way,

way, you would with your gentle excuses reach out your hand of love to helpe me up againe, rather expecting what is intended, then done. Lastly, that you, with my other discreet Reader, who hereafter shall see the same, would onely use it as a Hunters baite, to stay your stomacks a little, until some others of better knowledge, and sounder judgement, doe feed you with a better dinner.

K Now then that the Kings Majestie and the Queene lying at the Castle of *Striveling*, (a place famous for Antiquitie, faire for Building, pleasant for Scituation) on Tuesday the 19. of *February* 1594. about 3. a clocke in the morning, his Highnesse was born, to the great joy of all the whole Isle, and all forraigne true hearted Princes and people, his Majesties well-willers, and Confederats, but chiefly the Phænix of her age, great matchlesse *Elizabeth*, to shew the exceeding love to his Majestie, did not onely send, the Right Honourable the Earle of *Sussex*, with rich presents to the Christ-
ning

ing, but also by him, and for Her, did give unto his Highnesse the Name of HENRY, most renowned and Victorious; after which by speciall appointment from his Majestie, he was resigned to the custody and keeping of the Earle of *Marre*, assisted also by the continuall and vigilant care of the venerable and noble Matron his Mother, unto whom the chief charge of his Highnesse person, by his Majestie was given, Shee also for many yeares before, being his owne great happy Nurse, with whom he no lesse prospered in all things, then his Royall Father before him did in the selfe same place, and keeping. Thus continued the strength of his Father, and the glory of his Mother a great while in the hands of women, giving in this his tenderage, by his wonderfull courage, infallible tokens of a *Noble and Heroick Spirit*, no musick being so pleasant in his eares, as the sounding of the Trumpet, the beating of the Drumme, the roaring of the Canon, no fight so acceptable, as that of Pieces, Pistols, or any sort of Armour; all which evidently shew, that (if hee had lived)

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Mars himselte would not one day have dared to looke him in the face.

Thus he remained untill the 5. or 6. yeares of his Age, at which time his Majestie thought it expedient he should no longer want a Tutor. Whereupon Master *Newton* (afterwards his Secretary) was by his Majesty thought fittest for the said place, who presently with all care possible did begin to teach his Highnesse the grounds of Learning, with the Introductions leading to the same.

A little after, the Women being put from about his Highnesse, divers of good sort were appointed to attend upon his Person; amongst whom, as chiefe, was the Right Honourable the Earle of *Marre*, together with Sir *David Murray* Knight, first and onely Gentleman of his Highnesse Bed-chamber, to lye therein, (continuing so alwaies untill his death) assisted also by sundry Lords, Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen: at which time, in the 7. 8. and 9. yeares of his Age, leaving those Childish and idle toyes, usuall to all of his yeares, he began to delight in more active, and manly exercises, learning

ing to Ride, Sing, Dance, Leape, shoot at Archery, and in Peeces, to tosse his Pike, &c. Whereof all these things in young yeares, to the admiration of all, chiefly strangers, he did wonderfully performe; and that with such a grace, as it seemed incredible to forraigne Nations; save that those of their owne, who were spectators of the same did assure them thereof.

Now beganne those sparks of Pietie, Majesty, Gravity, &c. which before were true, though small, to flash out bigger every day, using a milde and gentle behaviour towards all, chiefly to strangers, before whom hee used (if they were of good sorts, and Nobles) to shew these exercises, wherein he excelled all those of his age, thereby filling their hearts with love, and all their senses with delight, departing exceeding well pleased, that they had seene Prince *Henry*.

Meane while swift winged *Time*, the mother of Change (whilst we expected no such alteration) joyning with the Eternall Decree, which pittying that *Elizabeth*, now overcloyed with earthly joyes

joyes should any longer bee detained in this vale of *Misery*, did send the blessed Angels to change her corruptible for an incorruptible Crowne. The Newes whereof (in a shorter time then ever was poasted so great a Iourney) was brought unto his Majestie by the Honourable Sir *Ro. Carey* Knight, who out of the abundance of his love, preventing all others, was the first Newes-bringer, not onely of so lamentable death, but also of the sudden ensuing joy, of his Majesties Right, Lawfull, Lineall, Proclaimed Succession: who shortly after was seconded by honourable Gentlemen, Sir *Charles Percie*, and Sir *Thomas Somersett* Knights, with a Letter from the Right Honourable, the Peeres of England, and Lords of Her late Majesties most Honourable Privy Counsell, presenting heapes of all sorts of dutifull services, from so loving Subjects to so beloved a King; withall wishing a hastie dispatch of his Majesties Affaires, that they the sooner might enjoy His Royall presence, which being with speed performed, they also, out of their great love) longing for
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the rest. The Queene with his Highnesse took their Iourney from *Edenborough* the first of *June*, 1602. the last of the said Moneth comming to *Windsor*, where, what joy was at so loving a meeting. and so long wished, I leave for you to imagine.

His Majestie lying at this foresaid Towne, his Highnesse and some other Lords, were installed Knights of the most Honourable and Noble Order of the Garter; after which (the Sicknesse increasing) His Highnesse removed from thence to *Oatlands*, where by appointment from his Majestie, he tooke house by himselfe, having so many to attend upon him in every Office, as was thought fitting for his yeares. A little after removing to *Nonsuch*, and from thence being sent for to *Winchester* by his Majestie, he againe returned to *Oatlands*, where he begun to ply his Booke hard for two or three yeares, continuing all his Princely Sports, Hawking, Hunting, running at the Ring, Leaping, riding of great Horses, Dauncing, Fencing, tossing of the Pike,

Pike, &c. In all which, he did so farre excell as was fitting for so great a Prince; whereby, together with his continuall travaile, being ever in action, he came to have a very active and strong body; so that then he would many times tyre all his followers before he himselfe would be weary.

Much about this time, being thirteene yeares of age, he began to know himselfe a little better, and finding himselfe to bee a Prince indeed, began not onely to strive for vertues answerable, but also to chase away the reliques of childish imperfections naturall to all, increasing every day in favour with God and man.

In the 14. and 15. yeares of his age, he began to be very juditious, almost in every thing, drawing neerer to a Majestique gravity; to be a reverent and attentive hearer of Sermons, to give commendations to the same, to have Boxes kept at his three severall standing Houses, *Saint-James, Richmond, and Nonfuch*, causing all those who did sweare in his hearing, to pay moneyes to the same, which were afterwards given to the poore; he beganne
now

now also to be of an excellent discourse, putting forth, and asking strange Questions and Suppositions, both of this, and forraine States, and desiring to know, and to be resolved almost of every thing, whereby at length he attained to have a reasonable insight and judgement, in State-affaires; now also delighting to shoot in great and small Field-pieces, to levell them to the white, and see them shot off.

The 16. yeare of his Age, being to come to the time of his Investment in the Principallitie of *Wales* and *Cornewall*; He did advance his owne Title and Right so farre, as with modestie he might: which presently was gently and lovingly entertained, and granted of his Majestie, with the consent of the Right Honourable, the High Court of Parliament: The fourth of *June* following, being appointed for that solemne action, the *Christmas* before which, his Highnesse not onely for his owne Recreation, but also that the World might know, what a brave Prince they were likely to enjoy, under the Name of *Meliades*, Lord of the *Iles*.

(an ancient Title due to the first borne of *Scotland*) did in his Name, by some appointed for the same of purpose, strangely attired, accompanied with Drummes and Trumpets in the Chamber of Presence, before the King and Queene, and in the presence of the whole Court, delivered a Challenge to all Knights of *Great Britaine*, in two Speeches, the relation whereof were out of purpose, but the summe was:

That *Meliades*, their Noble Master, boyling with an earnest desire, to trie the Valour of his young yeares in foraigne Countreyes, and to know where Vertue triumphed most, had sent them abroad to espy the same, who after their long Trauailes in all Countreyes, and returne; shewing, how no where in any Continent, save in the Fortunate Isle of *Great Britaine*, they had found his wishes; which ministring matter of exceeding joy to their young *Meliades*, who (as they said) could lineally derive his Pedegree from the famous Knights of this Isle, was the cause that he had now sent to present the first fruits of his Chivalrie at his Ma-

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jesties feete. Then after, returning with a short speech to her Majestie, next to the Earles, Lords, and Knights, excusing their Lord in this their so sudden & short warning: and lastly, to the Ladies; they after humble delivery of their Chartle, concerning time, place, conditions, number of weapons, and Assailants, tooke their leave, departing solemnly as they entred.

Now began every where preparations to be made for this great fight, and happy did he thinke himselfe who should be admitted for a Defendant, much more Assailant: At last, to encounter his Highnesse, with his six Assailants, 58. Defendants consisting of Earles, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, were appointed and chosen, eight Defendants to one Assailant, every Assailant being to fight by turnes, eight severall times fighting, two every time with push of Pike and Sword, twelve stroakes at a time; after which, the Barre for separation was to bee let downe untill a fresh onset.

The great night of this Solemnity now approaching, his Highnesse in his
owne

owne lodging, in the Christmas, did Feast the Earles, Barons, and Knights as-
failants, and defendants, untill the great
Twelfth appointed night, on which this
great fight was to be performed; which
being come, his Highnesse, to the great
wonder of the beholders, did admirably
fight his part, giving and receiving that
night, 32. pushes of Pikes, and about
360. stroakes of Swords, which is scarce
credible in so young yeares, enough to
assure the World, that *Great Britains*
brave *Henry* aspired to immortality.

Against the morrow, after the same
said fight, was also prepared a Magni-
ficke Feast at his Highnesse house at *Saint*
James, at which his Majestie, his High-
nesse, his Brother and Sister, with all the
other Earles, Lords, and Knights of the
Court were present; where after Sup-
per (according as before they had beene
judged) his Highnesse gave three prizes,
to the three best deserving, viz. to the
Right Honourable the Earle of *Montgo-*
merie one, and to Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and
Sir *Robert Gourdon* Knights, the other two.

The Barriers finished, and prizes won;

judged and delivered, shortly after began preparat on every where to be made for his Highnesse *Creation*, every one from the highest to the lowest (to shew there exceeding love) striving who should exceed in bravery, untill fast-posting *Time* at length brought forth the long wished for day; before which, his Highnesse then lying at *Richmond*, a House situate on the Rivers side, seven miles from *Westminster*, the place of his *Creation*, the custome being to be brought from such a place, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the worshipfull Aldermen his Brethren, accompanied with thirtie six severall Companies of Citizens of divers callings, in so many severall Barges, and all Citie-like brave-rie possible, with their severall Flagges, Banners, Colours, Armes, Trumpets, Drummes, and Phytes, with other such provision, came from their mighty and renowned City, up the silver-streamed River, to welcom, meet and accompany his Highnesse, towards the solemne Action, where having encountred with his Highnesse Barges with all the joy, love,
and

and kindnesse possible, to the wonder of the World; alleyes were bent towards so joyfull and desired a sight: they came altogetherv rowing downe the proud River, which for two or three miles together, seemed to be covered with Pinnaces, Barges Boates, and Oares unto *White-hall* bridge at the Court, where hee was also received, and welcommed by the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Counsel, with divers others, and from thence by them conducted unto his Majestie, where he remained untill the time of his *Creation*, which being the next day, he was in presence of the right Honorable the High Court of Parliament, Lords Spiritual and Temporall, By his Majestie the King his Father, Created *Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornewall, great Earle of Chester &c.* with a full Investment in all the Ancient and great Liberties, ever possessed by any of his famous Predecessors, and with the joy and approbation of the whole House.

His Highnesse being now absolute of himselfe, did take up House with a full
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addition

addition of high Officers, Sir *Thomas Chamberlaine*, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treasurer, and Sir *John Hollis* Comptroller of his House, making good and strict Ordets through the same, both above and below staires, more like a grave wise, and ancient Counsellour, surveying, disposing, & dispatching his affaires, then so young and great a Prince: Now were allotted unto him certaine Lands for his renewes, which he was so farre from diminishing, that hee left the same encreased, by thousands a yeare; his servants did now begin to looke which way to helpe themselves, since his Highnesse, was every day more and more able to give: yet he being very sparing to give any thing, did onely give Grants unto some, with promises, hopes and delays unto others, because he would not (hee said) dispose of any thing, untill with the gift he might perpetratt the same, which could not be, untill either yeares, or the High Court of Parliament should enable him, but this time as yet not being come, he went on his owne frugall courses, suffering almost nothing to passe in
his

his House, or other affaires, which hee himselfe did not oversee.

At last, bethinking himselfe that *Wales* and *Cornwall*, &c. his Principallitie had a long time beene without a Prince of their owne, he thought hee might the rather shew his Authority in renewing and avoiding Leases, wherefore having first by a Writ called *Scire facias*, avoided and annihilated all their former Rights and Leases, hee brought them unto a generall submission to compound, take and hold new of him; which they were all ready to performe, a little before his death: Whereupon Surveyors, and Commissioners were appointed, and dispatched to survey all his Lands, and to returne a true certificate of the whole valew; untill which, (being but a little before his sickness and death) he deferred all manner of Suits, because he would first be informed truely, what, and how great their demands were.

In the 17. and 18. yeares of his Age he began not onely to be a Man in stature, but also in courage and wisdom, to the admiration of all, and with the eyes of

his Spirit surveying the mighty Inheritance whereunto he was Heire apparant, he did also straine to be the better furnished (if ever his shoulders should undergoe so great a burthen) with furniture befitting the same, it being wisdom, in the time of peace, to prepare for the same, knowing that Peace is the harbinger of Warre, (chiefly in Ships, counted the brazen Wall of this Isle) he in the time of our security thought thereof : and therefore did not only intreate his Majestie to cause his Officers of the Navy to build him a Ship, called the *Prince*, (then the fairest of this Isle) but also to advance the affaires of the Navy, to his power, now and then got leave of his Majestie to goe in person to view the Ships, and Storehouses, which divers times he did. Not content herewith, he did also practise Tilting, charging on Horsebacke with Pistols, after the maner of the Wars, with all other the like inventions. Now also delighting to conferre, both with his owne, and other Strangers, and great Captaines, of all manner of Wars, Battails, Furniture, Armes by Sea and Land,

Disci-

Disciplines Orders Marches Alarms,
Watches, Stratagems, Ambuscadoes,
Approaches, Scalings, Fortifications,
Incampings, and having now and then
Battailes of head-men appointed both on
Horse and Foot, in a long Table; where-
by he might in a manner, view the right
ordering of a Battaile, how every troope
did aide and assist another, as also the pla-
cing of the light Horsemen, Vauntguard,
Maine Battaile, with the assisting wings,
and Rerewards, &c. which are out of my
element to speake of. Neither did he o-
mit, as he loved the *Theoricke* of these
things, to practise the same, entertaining
in his House a Dutch Captaine, sent unto
him by his Excellence (*Grave Maurice*)
a most excellent Engineer, in all manner
of things belonging to the *Wars*; causing
also, from time to time, new Pieces of Or-
nance to be made, learning to shoot, and
levell them right to the white; No lesse
provident was he to have great Horses,
and those of the best, which were sent un-
to him from all Countreyes; so that, I
may truely affirme, no Prince in *Chri-*
stendome did exceed him therein. Thus,
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in these, and other worldly pleasures, which stoope for acquaintance unto greatnesse, did he spend the yeares past.

In the 19. yeare of his Age, whether by his continuall toile of body, and minde, or some internall unknowne causes (I know not) where before he was of somewhat a full round face, and very pleasant disposition, his Visage began to appeare somewhat paler, longer and thinner then before, hee himselfe being also more sad and retyred then usuall, yet without any complaint of him, or jealousie of his Followers, save that some halfe a yeare after, hee would now and then complaine of a small kinde of giddy lumpish heavinesse in his forehead, the paine wherof, moved him (as I thinke) for the most part, ever before hee would put on his Hat, to stroke up with his hand his brow and forehead; he did also use to bleed at the nose often, and in great quantitie, wherein he found great ease, untill a little before his Sicknesse, (the passages being stopped) this helpe, to his further griefe, left him; he was now subject to
many

many strong and extraordinary qualmes, so that for danger and celerity they were forced many times to fetch him againe with strong waters, which being onely by intermission now and then, were let passe as they came, without any suspition of so suddaine sorrowes.

Much about the beginning of this Summer, there could almost bee no newes heard, but of his Sisters marriage, of which many speeches went currant, according to the divers affections of Protestants and Papists; some wishing her to bee married to the King of *Spaine*, some to the Prince of *Savoy*, some to the young Lands-grave, and some to his Highnesse the Palsgrave her now husband. But hee following the streame of his Fathers well settled affections, for great *Britaines* eternall felicity, and terrour of all Papists, did onely fancy the Palsgraves motion, shortly after advancing the same by all meanes possible at the comming of the Right honourable the Count *Hannau*: the Palsgraves great Ambassadour, whose errand as the speech

speech went, was to knit up this match, unto whose suite his Highnesse did not onely give way, and second the businesse, but also in signe of love, entertaine, and countenance the said Count (next unto his Majesty) more then any, never resting untill all was agreed (as thanks bee to God) it is now finished.

Matters now being at rest, the Duke of
 His frequent swimming immediately after supper, was most pernicious to his health for it stopt his bleeding at Nose, whereupon the bloud putrifying, engendred that fatal Feber which followed. Doctor Mayerne,
 Bovillon, and Count Hannaw having returned home againe, his Highnesse removed to *Richmond*, where hee lay untill the progresse; the pleasure of the River running close by the house, inviting him now and then to swimme, which hee endeavoured to learne in the evening, to the dislike of many, who did see him swimme after supper, his stomach being full, affirming it to bee full of danger, and that it was needlesse for him to adventure himselfe in the water; but no remedy, hee would needs continue the same, and did untill his removing from thence. Hee did now also delight many times to walke late at night by the Rivers side in Moone light, to heare the Trumpets sound

found aneccho, which many suspected, because the Dew then falling did him small good.

But the time of the progresse now approaching (when as hee was commanded) hee must needs meet the King his Father at *Beaver Castle* in *Notinghamshire* the second Saturday after the beginning of the same, which now drawing neere, his Highnesse neither considering the strength of his body, the greatnesse of the journey (being neere fourescore and sixteene miles) nor the extreame and wonderfull heat of the season, and notwithstanding my persuations to the contrary, determined to ride that great journey in 2. dayes, according to which hee set forth on fryday by one of the clock in the morning from his house at *Richmond*, comming to *Finchingbrooke* besides *Huntington*, a house pertaining to Sir *Oliver Cromwell* Knight, Master of his game, by tenne of the clock in the morning, which as they say is threescore miles, in nine houres posting, where hee remained all that night, the next day
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having six and thirty miles to *Beaver Castle*, where hee meet with his Father just at the time prefixed.

But the time of one thing, I had almost forgot to tell you, how before his comming from *Richmond* in intending to feast the Court at his Mannor of *Woodstock* about the end of this progresse (it being the first time of their generall meeting there, since the house became his) had given order to his Officers to provide a most magnifike Feast against their comming to the foresaid house, withall having ordained a great Summer-house of greene boughes to bee built in the parke wherein the great supper should bee, all which was with speed performed: meane while, although the season was exceeding hot, his Highnesse did ride many and extraordinary journeyes in the same (which as was thought) did much incline his boyling bloud towards inflammation.

At last, their journeyes being towards an end, to *Woodstock* they came, where his High-

Highnesse (accordingly to his former intention) did feast the Lords and Ladies at a long table, neere which hee himselfe did beare them company from the Wednesday night of their comming, untill the Sunday night, which (unknowne to him) hee had appointed for the last great farewell unto all his friends; By this time the appointed night for this great feast being come, his Highnesse did himselfe in person come into the banqueting house, to see all things in good order, for great was his care to give contentment.

At last, the King and Queene being set at a Table by themselves at the upper end of the roome, his Highnesse with his Sister accompanied with the Lords and Ladies sitting at another Table of thirty yards long and more, by themselves, there was to bee seene one of the greatest and best ordered feasts as ever was seene, nothing wanting which any way was fitting to adorn such a solemne meeting, All which to the generall joy of the whole Court, his Highnesse like to a Princely
Bride-

Bridgrome cheering and welcomming his Guests, there appeared an universall contentment in all; but litle knew he that it was his last great farewel to his Father, Mother, Sister, yea, unto the whole Court, that it was his last Feast of Feasts, one for all. And indeed, when we looke backe unto the same, therein beholding his Highnesse cheerefull carriage, the Time, Order, State, Magnificence, and Greatnes thereof, we may behold somewhat Ominous therein.

The Monday after, the Court removing from thence, his Highnesse, after leave obtained, hasted home againe to *Richmond*, because of the Newes of the *Palsgraves* approach, whom he intended to grace with all possible honour. Being returned, he began to give order for every thing, and to dispatch all affaires both of his owne, and concerning the following intended Triumphes for his Highnesse the *Palsgraves* better welcome; He now also of himselfe (I know not by what motion) considering the great paines, deserts, and small meanes of a number of his

his Followers, who had spent much, and gotten nothing in his Service, did give order for a number of severall pensions, according to his discretion, to some of them, promising also, after a while (that none should be discouraged) to remember the rest.

But now, whether the continuall violences of his Exercises, or his too frequent eating of abundance of Grapes, and other fruits, or some settled Melancholly, engendred by some unknowne causes, I cannot determine, yet did hee looke still more pale and thinne, from day to day, complaining now and then of a cold, lasie drowfinesse in his head, which (as I thinke) moved him many times to aske questions of divers about him, concerning the quality, cure, and nature of the Feaver, (called for the strange diversitie) *The new Disease*; belike, fearing some such like thing by his indisposition; He also used before this, now and then, and in his Sicknesse to sigh often, whereof being sometimes demanded the cause by his Phisitians, Doctor *Hamond*, and
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other

others neere him, hee would sometimes reply, that he knew not, sometimes that they came unawares, and sometimes also that they were not without cause.

At the beginning of *October*, his continuall Head-ach, Lazinesse, and indisposition increasing, (which notwithstanding because of the time, he strove mightily to conceale) whereas oft before, he used to rise early in the morning to walke the fields, he did lye a bed, almost every morning untill nine of the clocke, complaining of his lazinesse, and that hee knew not the cause; during which time (belike jealous of himselfe) hee would many mornings before his rising, aske of the Groomes of his Bed-chamber, How doe I looke this morning? and at other times the same question againe; which they, fearing no danger, to make his Highnesse laugh, would put off with one jest or other.

But he still continuing ill, the tenth of the foresaid Moneth, hee had two small fits of an Ague, forcing him to
keepe

keepe his Chamber, which his Highnesse finding, had some speech with Doctor *Holland*, his Physitian, willing belike to have taken some strong Phisicke, the sooner to have removed the cause. But he not daring to bee too bold with his Highnesse body, without a further consent, did onely give unto his Highnesse a softning Glister, which had its owne good effects, stirring the humors.

On the Morning, being Tuesday, the thirteene of *October*, he having (as was thought) taken cold, had a great loosenesse, his belly opening 25. times, avoiding a great deale of Choller, Flegme, and putrified Matter toward the ende, yet for all this, on the morrow, he finding himselfe (as he said) reasonable well, because of the *Palsgraves* comming, hee hastened from thence to Saint *James*, whereupon he gave order, and would needs remove on Thursday, the thirteenth of the same moneth, notwithstanding any perswasions whatsoever to the contrary, neither was it without great danger (as they all shewed him) to hazard himselfe
C 2 abroad

abroad so soone, his Body being yet open : but he affirming himselfe to be very well, would needes goe on with his former determination.

At last to Saint *James* he came, seeming well, but that he looked pale and ill, so that sundry did speake suspitiously of his lookes, fearing some distemper in his Body : yet so strong was his minde, that complaining of nothing, he did beare out the matter very bravely in shew, being so well, that he gave his Physitian (who had waited a long time) leave to goe home to his house ; meane while his indisposition still continuing and increasing, there might have beene perceived in him a sudden great change, for he began to be displeased almost with every thing, and to be exceeding curious in all things, yet not regarding, but looking, as it were, with the eyes of a stranger upon them, for sundry things shewed him, which before he had wonted to talke of, aske questions, and view curiously, he now scarce vouchsafed to looke upon, turning them away with the backe
of

of his hand, and departing, as who would say; I take pleasure in nothing; yet was he wonderfully busie in providing, and giving order for every thing belonging to his care, for his Sisters Marriage, advancing the same by all meanes possible, keeping also his Highnes the *Palsgrave* company, so much as conveniently he could, together with Count *Henry* his Excellencie, *Grave Maurice* his Brother, whom he also much honoured and esteemed, be-like because of a Noble and Heroicke disposition, which he saw in him, fitting his humour, with whom he used to play often at Cardes, and Tennis, delighting much in his company; and above all the rest, one great Match they had at Tennis, on Saturday the 24. of *October*, the day before his last Sicknesse, where h s undaunted courage, negligently, carelessly, and wilfully (neither considering the former weake estate of his body, danger, nor coldnesse of the season) as though his body had been of brasse, did play in his shirt, as if it had been in the heate of Summer; during which time, he looked so wonderfull ill and pale, that all the

beholders tooke notice thereof, murmuring to one another what they feared: But hee (the match being ended) carried himselfe so well, as if there were no such matter, having all this while a reasonable good stomack to meat; yet this night at his going to bed, complaining more then usuall of his lazinesse and headache.

But oh whether goe I now? must I againe launch out into a Sea of sorrowes, adding more griefes unto our yet bleeding wounds? Oh death! was there no remedy? when wilt thou make an end? shall the grave devoure alwayes? was thy charge so strait that thou could'st shoote neither at great nor small, but at the *Prince* of our *Israel*? doe sweete smelling flowers so much delight thy grisly ghastly senses-appetite, that thou would'st gather none but our fairest well beloved, scarce blowne, rose? why didst thou so soone robbe us? I know (but that thou, who scornest to reason with thy captives, disdainest to answer thy slaves) thou couldst give us many reasons:
Where-

Wherefore I leave to reason with thee,
and turning againe to my dolefull Relation,
will begin, &c.

*Quaquam animus meminisse horret,
luctusque refugit*

For

———— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet à lacrimis? &c. ————

On Sunday morning the five and
twenty of *October* 1612. the morrow af-
ter his Highnesse violent play at Ten-
nies, it was told him (the custome of
his house being to have the Sermon be-
times in the morning, for the most part,
where the Court lay so neere; because
hee used after his owne, to heare the
Kings also) that Master *Wilkinson* one
of his Fathers Chaplaines, was ready,
and did present his service to preach
that morning (if it pleased his Highnesse
to heare him) which hee no sooner
heard, but contrary to his late usuall
custome of long time (although that
morning hee found himselfe somewhat
drousic and ill) addressed himselfe to bee

made ready, for hee wonderfully delighted to heare the said Master *Wilkinson*; ever since the time (long before) in which hee heard him preach a Sermon of judgement, which hee did so well like of, that many times hee did speake of the same, affirming it to have beene so excellent, that hee in a manner did shew them the same, long it was not ere his Highnesse was ready and gone to the Chappell to heare him.

But ere I proceed, give mee leave I intreate you, to admire the wonderfull providence and goodnesse of God, which did so provide for him a Sermon of *Mortification*, or Preparation, which you will: For the time, text, powerfull delivery, *Method &c.* were also fitting to our following unthought of *Funerall*, as though an Angell had come the whole weeke before from Heaven, prefixing unto him the time, necessity, text, order, and amplifications thereof, so truly did hee thunder out the mortall misery of mankind, but chiefly of *Princes*: The Text was out of *Job* the 14.
and

and 1. verse, *Man that is borne of a Woman, is of short continuance and full of trouble.* From which hee shewed 3. things; first, our miserable entry into the World, and short continuance; lastly, our miserable *Pilgrimage*, and endurance in the World full of trouble; in which the misery and troubles of all Estates were well shewed, but chiefly those of great ones. Sermon being ended, his Highnesse did commend the same, being very attentive all the time thereof, presently thereafter going into *Whitehall*, where hee also did heare another Sermon with the King his Father; which being also done, to dinner they went, his Highnesse in outward appearance eating with a reasonable good stomach, yet looking exceeding ill and pale, with hollow ghastly dead eyes perceived of a great many.

The first Day.

After dinner, for all his great courage and strife to over master the greatnesse of his evill, dissembling the same, the
Conque-

Conquerour of all, about 3. a clock in the afternone began to skirmish, with a suddaine sicknesse and faintenesse of the heart (usuall unto him) whereupon followed shortly after a shaking, with a great heat and headache, which from hence forth never left him; his Highnesse finding himselfe thus suddainely taken, was forced to take his leave, departing home unto his bed; where being laid, hee found himselfe very ill, remaining all this evening in an Agony, having a great drought (which after this could never bee quenched but with death) his eyes also being so dimme, that they were not able to endure the light of a candle; for which that night was ordained unto him a cordiall of cooling *Ptisane* for quenching of his thirst, with a moistning broath to bee given at the ending of the fit. This night hee rested ill.

The second Day.

On the morrow after, being Monday the six and twenty of the Month, and
the

the second of his sicknesse; his Highnesse felt small or no ease of his headache, continuing bound in his belly, his pulse beating exceedingly, his water being crude, thinne, and whitish, which moved Doctor *Mayerne* his Majesties chiefe Physitian to appoint for him a softning Glister, which accordingly to their desire did worke very well. After which his Highnesse finding intermission (which continued all that day) did arise, and put on his cloathes, playing at cards that day, and the next also, with his Brother the Duke of *Yorke*, and Count *Henry*; meane while there were many Messages sent from the Court, and every where else, to know how things went, all which (no creature surmising the least danger) were answered with good hopes, yet his Highnesse for all this looked ill and pale, spake hollow, and somewhat straingely, with dead sunck eyes, his driness of Mouth and great thirst continuing, for the which that night were ordained unto him by the foresaid Doctors, sharpe, tarte, cordiall and cooling Iuleps, prepared with
all

all kind of Cordials and Anditotes possible, his brothes and gellies being with the same care ordained: yet his drought and headache continuing (which could not bee stayed) hee remained still very ill, this night resting quietly.

The third Day.

On Tuesday the seven and twenty, the third day of his sicknesse, hee found some ease in the morning, so that they were all in good hope that it would have proved but some Tertian, or bastard Tertian at the most, notwithstanding that his Highnesse, ghastly rowling uncouth looks, did put them in some feare.

This day, his Majesty did send Master *Nasmith* his Surgeon to attend his Highnesse during his sicknesse, unto whom, and divers others conferring of his Highnesse sicknesse, and the danger of the same; Doctor *Mayerne* did say, that in his judgement the surest way for his Highnesse safety was bleeding (as
was

was thought) very substantially proving from the very dangerous forenamed accidents and indications of this *Tertian*, which he feared to be venomous, by reason humors seated in the naturall parts, inclining by reason of the quantity, to a continuall; that bleeding chiefly, and that in great quantity with reiteration (if need so required:) Now whilest his Highnesse was strong, naturall heate not being decayed, nor too much oppressed, before that Feaver turned continuall, and he weaker, and lesse able to endure hereafter, would prove the surest way for his safety. But the same his opinion, not being allowed of the rest (whom by conference, when he named, or spoke of blood) he found directly opposite; there was as yet no consultation for blood letting, nor any inclination that wayes.

This morning hee did rise and put on his cloathes, but his fit comming about noone; first with a cold, then a great heate, without any sweat, continuing untill eight a clocke at night, he was forced to goe to bed againe, this night resting quietly.

The

The fourth Day.

On Wednesday the eight and twentieth, and fourth day of his sicknesse, in the morning, came Master *Butler*, the famous Physitian of *Cambridge*, a marvellous great Scholler, and of long Practise, and singular judgement, but withall very humorous; who (whatsoever he thought) comforting him with good hopes, that hee would shortly recover, and that there was no danger; yet secretly unto others, did not let to speake doubtfully, (as they say, his humour is) that he could not tell, what to make of it, and that he did not well like of the same; adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lye by it for a great while, with divers other like speeches, neither could he be perswaded, all the time of his Highnesse sicknesse, to stay any longer with him, then one houre, or thereabouts, every morning, and so in the afternoone, to give his counsell and advise with the rest: what moved him I know not, whether he did
mislike

mislike the French Doctors company, or because the Cure was not committed to him as chiefe, or being jealous, and misliking his Highnesse disease, and therefore loved not to meddle to much in the Cure (which I rather imagine;) or whether his health or humor impeached the same, I dare not judge, the curious may best learne from himselfe, yet having at his comming enquired what was done, hee approved the same, and wished the continuance of the same proceedings, untill a further judgement might be given of the same event: yet did his Highnesse finde small or no ease, but his Feaver, as yet not being continuall, he did rise and put on his clothes, they all as yet conceiving reasonable good hopes.

The former daies and this, his stomach was not quite lost, but he would now and then take some such meate as the Physitians thought fitting; yet the Doctors, *viz.* *Mayerne, Hamond, Butler*, all considering the greatnesse of the danger, and the strangenesse of the Disease, the
which

Water in no way shewing the same, which madethem the loather to meddle, untill the *Crisis* were seene, his Highnes remaining in the same estate, the many dangerous forenamed accidents, with the good of the former evacuations, his belly now being hard bound, &c. would willingly have had more Doctors called for consultation; which his Highnesse altogether refusing to allow of, because of the confuson. They by a generall consent (his Highnesse then having intermission of his Fever) under all their hands, did by their owne report, give unto him a Purgation of *Sene* sod, and *Rhubard*, infused in Cordiall and cooling Liquors, with Syrupe of Roses loosening, which working seven or eight times, brought away great store of putred Choler, and in the end Phlegme, the Vrine inclining somewhat towards concoction. But his Highnesse after the working thereof, found not that ease that was expected; yet was still fed with hopes of his recovery. But night being come, (towards which, during all his sicknesse, he grew worse then in the morning, wherein

wherein he was more sober alwaies then in the evening) his Head-ache, droughts and other accidents, continuing, though not with extremity, he rested ill, and unquietly.

The fifth day.

On the Thursday the nine and twentieth, and fifth day of his sicknesse, hopes began a little to diminish, howbeit that morning his headache was somewhat lessened, his breath also (which before was short) being longer, which moved him to put on his cloathes, endeavouring to rise as he had done before, but his head being so giddy, that he was not able to stand alone, hee was forced to betake him to his bed againe, from henceforth ever keeping his bed: Neverthelesse the tingling of his eares, the leapings and boundings continuing alike; as also a small fitt comming upon him, with a litle coldnes, the Fever thereafter being continual, with many small intermissions, and small and great redoublings, the violence whereof caused his tongue to become blacke and
D drie;

drie, the leapings, and boundings, and finging of the eares encreasing. Many neere unto him, jealous of so bad signes without amendment, feared the worst, his Highnesse now being forced to keepe his bed continually, his head being so giddy, that he could not stand upright, his eyes also so dimme, that he could not indure the candle light; yet still the Doctors, by reason of his extraordinary patience (not fully knowing the danger which afterwards appeared) not willing nor daring to bee too bold, untill some certaine further knowledge, delaied to conclude of any thing, save that his Highnesse should still be plyed with all sorts of Cordiall Iuleps, which Art, or experience could thinke of. Master *Butlers* advise, they say, was the same, that Cordials externall, and internall, the restoratives and diet begun, should bee continued.

Thus, no other course as yet being thought of, still expecting the successe of new daies; delaies bred danger, his Highnesse remained ill, having no evacuation

uation by sweate, neither was it expedient (as was thought) to force the same, still expecting Natures owne time, which deceived them.

This evening there appeared a fatall signe about two houres or more within the night, bearing the colours and shew of a *Rainbow*, which hung directly crosse and over Saint *Jameses* House, it was first perceived about seven a clock at night, which I my selfe did see, which divers others looking thereupon with admiration, continuing untill past bed time, being no more seene. This night was unquiet, and hee rested ill.

A *Lunar Rainbow* very rare, and commonly fatall.
V. *Arist. Meteor.*

The sixt Day.

On Friday the six and thirtieth day of his sicknesse, hee remained in the same estate, no Creature knowing what to say or make of his sicknesse, some fearing one thing, and some another, the Doctors still attending the issue of the eight day, but for all that his Highnesse feaver remained continuall, withall the for-

mer cruell accidents, for which this morning was given him a Glister for washing of his bowels, in which hee found some ease.

About three a Clock in the afternone came his lesser Doubling, during which, his breath became short, his face very red, his pulse beating very swiftly, in which fit his nose began to bleed (as some thought about two ounces, then after staying of it selfe, whereby hee found some ease, not having bleed (as his custome was) of a great while before.

From this time forth, chiefly Doctor *Mayerne*, with Master *Nasmith*, his Majesties Chirurgion, began to propound the necessity of bleeding, as heretofore they had done, whereunto nature now invited, the Feaver remaining continually, with a great abounding fulnesse, in a constitution excessively hot, in a body which had much used bleeding, deprived of that benefit for some Moneths before, yet the rest being sparing
and

and loath to heare of the same, there was nothing done, this day also passing, as the rest; All this while the excessive paine of his head continuing, as also his heate and thirst, for which his mouth and tongue were continually washed; yet for all this his Highnesse and the rest were still encouraged, that hee should shortly recover, although indeed hee became still worse and worse. This night hee rested ill, being alwayes somewhat better in the morning,

The seventh Day.

On Saturday the last of the Moneth, and seventh of his sickness, there appeared no amendment, his Highnesse continuing in a wonderfull excessive heat, after which came the great redoubling, raving as hee was awake, with blacknesse, drines, and clifts in his tongue, was continually applied with all things needfull, but to no purpose, save a little ease for the present, as also the tingling of the eares, leapings and boundings became greater, the vrines

more crude, yet no way shewing the danger of the disease all this while, untill a little before his death, Over and above all other griefes hee found his head exceedingly pained, a thing lying as it had beene a lumpe in his forehead, which together with the ulceration of his throat, made him loth to speake, but when hee must needs, and then not without great paine, the extremity, as it were, of the evill overcomming and stupifying the vitals and senses, striving to subdue naturall heat, and oppressing the heart, notwithstanding the doubling and trebling of the Cordials to withstand the same.

This day also, Nature (as the day before) though not in quantity, did (as was said) shew the necessity of bleeding, for which cause it was with more instance againe propounded, and urged, then ever, as th'onely meanes, under God, to save his Highnesse; at length after much adoe *pro & contra*, Doctor *Mayer* urging, and Master *Barter* chiefly withstanding the same, mistaking the
first

first beginning of his Highnesse sicknesse;
in the end, the three Doctors, *Mayerne*, *Hammond*, and *Butler* did agree, that on the
morrow being Sunday (the eight broken,
and the seventh whole day of his last
sicknesse) a vaine should bee opened;
all this while untill his bleeding was
past, they conceived good hope of his
recovery, yet hee remained dangerously
ill; you must imagine that all this while
of his sicknesse, the whole World did
almost every houre send unto Saint
Jameses for newes; the better sort who
were admitted to visit him; or acquaint-
ed with those neere unto him, knowing
the danger, the rest fearing nothing, ima-
gining it onely to have beene some
Common Tertian, for which cause in
many places neere unto the City hee
was thought dead and gone, before they
knew that hee was dangerously sick.
This night was more cruell and unquiet
unto him then any other.

The eight Day.

On Sunday the first of *November*, and the eight day of his sicknesse, according to their former agreement, after much adoe, Master *Butler* resisting to consent that hee should bee let bloud, because (as hee said) it was the eight day, professing to have left them, untill hee was forced to stay and give his consent; Doctor *Hamond* and others proving unto him, that it was not the eight day, his Highnesse being ill of a long time before, (howsoever hee strangely with a wonderfull courage and patience concealed the same;) his Highnesse being still after one, in the presence of the foresaid Doctors and divers others of very good worth, in the morning was drawne out of the *Median* of his right Arme, seven or eight ounces of bloud, during which time hee fainted not, bleeding well and abundantly, desiring and calling to them to take more as they were about to stoppe the same, finding some ease as it were upon the instant; The bloud being

ing cold, was seene of all to bee thinne, corrupt and putred, with a cholerick and blewish water above, without any *Fibres* or small strings therein scarce congealed.

This day after his bleeding hee found great ease, insomuch as since the beginning of his sicknesse, hee had not found himselfe so well, his pulse inclining towards a more Gentle motion missing his former wonted cruell doublings, and his former accidents being lesse and more mild. This afternoone hee was visited by his Royall Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the Palsgrave, with diuers others of the Court, all which conceiving good hopes, departed from thence reasonably cheerefull. Yet that night (though better then others) hee passed unquietly.

The ninth Day.

On Monday the second of *November*, and ninth of his sicknesse, hee became worse then ever, the great redoubling

bling comming upon him, accompanied with rednesse of face, shortnesse of breath, increase of drought, blacknesse of his tongue, with excessive heat, somewhat lesse then it was the seventh day, and benumbings, which now with the encrease of all the former accidents tormented him; briefly, so many evill signes appeared, that some of the Doctors then plainly affirmed, that by violence of the disease, the bloud and humours were retired in abundance, with great violence towards the braine, filling the vaines abundantly (as afterwards in the opening did appeare) by reason whereof the paine of his head was extreame great, his Spirits being as it were overcome.

This morning, Doctor *Arkenis* (a Physician of *London*, famous for his practice, honesty, and learning) was sent by his Majesty to assist the rest in the cure, whose opinion (as they said) was, that his Highnesse disease was a corrupt putred Fever, the seat whereof was under the liver in the first passages, the malignity where-

whereof, he thought, by reason of the
putrification (in almost the highest de-
gree) was venomous.

This day and the next, he was visi-
ted by the King his Father, and others
of the Court, whose exceeding sorrow
cannot expresse, yet were they still
fed with some good small hopes of his
recovery. All this while, although hee
grew every day worse and worse, yet
none discouraged him with any speech
of death (so loath they were to thinke
of his departure) hee himselfe being so
tormented with this, and the next dayes
sicknesse, that he could not thinke there-
of; or if hee had, yet the Physitians
courage, and hope of life, which good
opinion (his unspeakable patience not a-
ny way complaining, so that he could
not have beene knowne to be sicke, but
by his lookes) moved them to conceive,
telling him there was no danger, dash-
ed the same.

This night came upon him greater i-
llimation of braine, ravings, and idle
speeches

speeches out of purpose, calling for his Cloathes, and his Rapier, &c. saying, he must bee gone, hee would not stay, and I know not what else, to the great grieve of all that heard him, whose hopes now began to vanish.

The tenth day.

On Tewfday the third of the Moneth, and the tenth of his Sicknesse, he became worse then before, all his former accidents encreasing exceedingly, his boundings, being turned into Convulsions, his raving and benumbing, becomming greater, the Feaver more violent; whereupon bleeding was againe proposed by Doctor *Mayer* and the Favorers thereof, who still affirmed, that he did mislike the too sparing proceeding with his Highnesse; alleging, that in this case of extremity, they must (if they meant to save his life) proceed in the Cure, as though it were to some meane person, forgetting him to bee a Prince, whom they had now in hand, otherwise he said, (for ought he saw) because hee was a Prince he must die, but if he were a meane person

person, he might bee saved. But this his opinion being disallowed of most, they continued and increased their Cordials, giving unto him a Glister, which brought away abundance of corrupt and putred matter, together with some Raysons, which (as was thought) hee had eaten twelve daies before.

This day also for easing of the extreame paine of his head, the haire was shaven away, and Pigeons and cupping Glasses applied to lessen and draw away the humour, and that superfluous blood from the Head, which hee endured with wonderfull and admirable patience, as though he had beene insensible of paine; yet all without any good, save perhaps, some small seeming hope of comfort for the present.

Now began the Pilots, who guided this fraile Barque of his highnesse body, almost to despaire, to escape the ensuing Tempests; some of whose lookes did now more then ever discourage the rest. For this night he became very weake,
the

the Fever augmenting, the raving becoming worse then ever, in which he began to tosse and tumble, to sing in his sleepe, profering to have leaped out of the bed, gathering the sheets together, the convulsions being more violent; In which extremity, his tongue, mouth, and throat being more dry then ever, yet called he not for any kind of moisture, complaining of thirst, which evidently shewed, that the vehemencie of his disease had overcome the seat of reason, otherwise he could not but have complained, as he did before.

The eleventh day.

On Wednesday the fourth of *November*, and the eleventh day of his Sickness, all hopes of recovery were lesse then ever, the Phisicians, Chirurgeons, and Apothecaries beginning to bee dismayed, but that like stout Pilots, they did beare it out bravely, so long as was possible; yet (as men perplexed in such an extremity) the most part were of opinion, that the *Crisis* was to be seene, before

fore a finall resolution, of which there was as yet small appearance: all the former accidents meane while encreased, the whole world beginning to be afraide. This day a Cocke was cloven by the backe, and applyed unto the soles of his feet, but in vaine; the Cordials also were redoubled in number and quantitie, but without any profit.

This afternoone his Majestie hearing of his undoubted danger (although more sober then at other times) came to see him; but being advertised how matters went, and were likely to go, and what addition of griefe it would bee unto him, to see his best beloved Sonne in that extremity, he was at last perswaded to depart without Visitation, yet giving order and command before his departure, that from thenceforth (because his Highnesse was continually molested with a number, which out of their love came to visit him) no creature should bee admitted to see him, save those who of necessitie must tend upon him, untill the event and issue of his Disease were scene,
which

which was accordingly done ; His Highnes for his more ease, being removed into another longer and quieter * Chamber.

* Iust over this Chamber But now all things appearing to bee out of frame, (wherein he dyed) did the end of the fatall Rainebow, and confusedly evill, with-
aforementioned, hang (as Doctor *Mayerne* observed.) out hope of amendment,

whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury hearing, he made so much the more haste unto his Highnesse, whom after some discourse fitting that time, seeing so much care to be taken for the mortall body, the

* Notwithstanding the immortall Soule being Prince was seriously remembred, to commend himselfe into the hands of God, (before this) by Doctor *Mayerne*, who found his resolution therein, to bee most heavenly and Divive. * neglected ; He asked his Highnesse, whether there had beene any Prayers said in his Chamber, since his Sicknesse, or no ? To

whom he answered, that there had not: aleaging the cause to have beene, the continual toile of the Doctors, Apothecaries, and Surgeons about him ; and further, that untill now, he was not put in minde thereof. But that, for all that, he had not failed to pray quietly by himselfe, which his answere pleasing them well ; the Archbishop againe demanded, if his High-

Highnesse would now from thence forth bee contented to have prayers said in his Chamber, which hee willingly assented unto, asking which of his Chaplaines were there present; amongst whom, finding that Doctor *Milborne* Deane of *Rochester* was there present, hee willed the said *Deane* to bee called, as being one, whom for his learning, good carriage, and profitable preaching, above all the rest hee ever affected and respected.

The Archbishop meane while not willing to much to disquiet his Highnesse, called for to say prayers that evening at his Highnesse bed side, where speaking somewhat low, fearing to offend his distempered eares, his Highnesse willed him to speake aloud, thereafter repeating the confession of his faith word by word after him; from henceforth the foresaid Deane continued to pray dayly with him at his bed side untill his departure. This night was unquiet as the rest.

The twelfth Day.

On Thursday morning the fifth of *November*, and twelfth of his sicknesse, newes was sent unto his Majesty of the undoubted danger, and that there now remained no hopes or means of his Highnesse recovery, but with desperate and dangerous attempts, which his Majesty considering, gave leave and absolute power to Doctor *Mayerne* (his chiefe Phisition) to doe what hee would of himselfe, without advise of the rest, if in such an extremitie it were possible to doe any thing for his Highnesse safety; But hee weighing the greatnesse of the cure & emmirency of the danger, would not for all that adventure, to doe any thing of himselfe, without advise of the rest (which hee alwayes tooke) saying, that it should never bee said in after Ages, that hee had killed the Kings eldest Sonne; His Majesty meane while (whose sorrow no tongue can expresse) not willing, nor being able to stay so neere the Gates of so extreame sorrow, more
like

like a dead, then a living man, full of most wonderfull heaviness, removed to *Theobalds* (a house twelve miles from *London*) there to expect the dolefull event.

Meane while amongst the Doctors *Mayerne*, *Hamond*, *Butler*, and *Atkins*, bleeding was now the third time proposed, some of them (as I thinke Doctor *Mayerne*) affirming, that the blood, which the vapours being violently thrust upwards, filling the braine, did cause by the maligne acrimony and quantity thereof, ravings and convulsions; which accidents (although without seeming paine) because the Spirits were oppressed) did put his Highnesse in imminent danger; more then the benumings; the cause whereof was within the ventricles of the braine, as also the said hot and cholerick blood in the membranes; All which considered and that his Highnesse was yet of sufficient strength of body; his pulse also able to endure, they said, the opening of a vaine was in their judgement the onely meanes left: But the rest

of the Counsell misliking this advise, did conclude to double and treble the Cordials, making a revulsion from the head with a clister, whose working was to small effect, save that his Highnesse became more sensible thereafter: In the meane time the Archbishop of *Canterbury* hearing of the danger, came unto his Highnesse in great hast, where finding him in extreame danger, hee thought it now more then high time to goe about another kind of cure; and therefore, like a wise and skilfull Phisitian, first trying the humour of his patient, before hee would proceed in the cure, hee addressed himselfe gently and mildly to aske how his Highnesse found himselfe since his departure; at whose reply, seeing every thing amisse, hee began againe further to feele his mind, first preparing him his Antidote against the feare of death, that the preparation thereunto, meditation, and thinking thereof, could, nor would bring death the sooner, but the contrary rather, arming himselfe so much the more against it; withall putting him in mind of the *Excellency* and
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Immortality of the Soule, with the unspeakeable joyes prepared for *Gods children*; and the basenesse and misery of the earth, with all the vaine, inconstant, momentary and fraile pleasures thereof, in respect of heavenly *loyes*; with many other most excellent meditations against the same feare of death.

Having thus prepared him to heare, hee went further, putting him in mind of the *Exceeding great danger hee was in*, and that although hee might recover (as hee hoped hee should) yet hee might also die; and that since it was an inevitable and irrevocable necessity that *All must once die*, late or soone. (Death being the reward of sinne) hee asked, if it should so fall out, whether or no hee was well pleased to submit himselfe to the *Will of God*; to which hee answered, yea withall his heart. Then the Archbishop went on demanding questions of his faith; First of the Religion and Church wherein hee lived; which his Highnesse acknowledged to bee the one-

ly true Church, wherein onely, and without which there was no salvation; Then of his faith in Christ onely, by him, and in him, without any merits of his owne, being assured of the Remission of all his sinnes; which hee professed hee did, hoping and trusting onely therein; Then of the Resurrection of the body, life everlasting, and the joyes of Heaven; All which hee confessed and beleevved, hoping withall Saints to enjoy the same.

This conference, with a great deale more, the Archbishop had with him to this purpose; (which may also give unto you absolute satisfaction of his Soules health, if thereunto his life bee considered.) After which, fearing hee should too much disquiet him, with many good exhortations, hee tooke leave for that time.

This day being the fifth of *November*, a day of everlasting remembrance and thanksgiving for our deliverance from the Powder Treason, was order given every

every where unto all Churches, to pray for his Highnesse, untill when, the great danger was unknowne to the Commons, which was effectually as ever untill his death performed.

This day, and at fundry other times since his confusion of speech, hee would many times call upon Sir *David Murray* Knight (the onely man in whom hee had put choise trust) by his name *David, David, David*, who when hee came unto his Highnesse, demanding his pleasure, in extremity of paine, and stupefaction of senses confounding his speech, sighing, hee did reply, I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it; which forme hee still used, so long as hee had any perfect sence or memory.

This done, also (but too late) to assist the rest, came Doctor *Palmer*, and Doctor *Gifford* famous Phisicians for their honesty, learning, and Phisick, who with the former foure went all six to a consultation what now remained, finally to bee done, wherein by some (as they

say) was againe propounded the necessity of bleeding, the oportunity whereof, by the evacuation of his belly was now over passed.

In the end, the Doctors (long before this despairing of his recovery) did at last agree upon *Diascordium*, as the onely meanes (under God) now remaining, which tempered with cooler Cordials, was given him in the presence of many honourable Gentlemen, about tenne a Clock at night, the operation whereof was small or none; neither all this while did nature of it selfe incline towards sweating, and to force the same they thought it to no purpose. This night was unquiet as the rest, his accidents remaining in the same sort, but now and then speaking, but so confusedly that hee could not bee understood.

Among the rest, this night about midnight, Master *Nasmith* his Majesties Chirurgeon sitting on his bed side, his Highnesse pulled him unto him by the hand, speaking unto him somewhat, but so confusedly, by reason of the ratling
of

of his Throat, that hee could not bee understood; which his Highnesse perceiving, giving a most grievous sigh, as it were in anger turned him from him; thereafter (unlesse hee were urged) never speaking unto him, or any.

In this extremity, (Sir *David Murray*, who in this one death suffered many) came unto him, intreating him, & asking him, that if hee had any thing to say which troubled him, that hee would sometimes make knowne his mind: but his Spirits being overcome, and nature weake, hee was not able to say any thing, save that of all other businesse hee gave order for the burning of a number of *Letters* in a certaine cabinet in his closet, which presently after his death was done.

Not long after (as I thinke) on Friday morning about three a clock, his back-bone, shoulders, armes and tongue, by reason of the horrible violence of the convulsions, dis-joyntingly deviding themselves, the effect shewing that the
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retentive power was gone, the Spirits subdued, the seat of reason overcome, and nature spent, in which extremity, fainting and sounding, hee seemed twice or thrice to bee quite gone, at which time there arose wonderfull great shouting, weeping and crying in the Chamber, Court, and adjoyning streets, which was so great (together with somewhat else which they used) that they brought him againe.

This crye was so great, that all those in the streets thought hee had bene dead; whereupon it went for the most part currant in the City and Countrey that hee was gone.

I am not able to expresse the unspeakeable sorrow which every where was for this wofull newes, chiefly in that dolefull house, you may imagine no thought can thinke the greatnesse thereof, nor understanding conceive the same, this little which I have said, overlading my weakenesse.

Thus

Thus given over of all into the hands of God, did his Highnesse lie in extreame paine; during which, still now and then (till two or three houres before his death) looking up, and speaking, or endeavouring to speake, which for confusion and extremity of paine (being so neere gone) could not bee understood, all the World were ready in this despaire, to bring cordiall waters *Diaphoretick*, and *Quintissentiall* Spirits to be given unto him; amongst which, one in the afternoone was ministred; which set that little nature remaining, on worke, forcing a small sweat, which, too late, was the first hee had; Sir *Walter Raleigh* also did send another from the Tower, which whether or no to give him, they did a while deliberate.

After the operation of the first, his Highnesse rested quietly a little while, presently after falling into his former extremities; whereupon (as the last desperate remedy) with the leave and advise of the Lords of the Counsell there present, the cordiall sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh*

Raleigh (after it had beene tasted and proved) was given unto him; but in vaine, save that forcing that sparke of life that remained, it brought him againe into a sweat; after which, as before hee had some rest for a little while. But, no remedy, death would needs bee Conquerour; in vaine did they strive against the streame, for hee shortly after became wonderfull ill againe; sight and sence failing, as also all the infallible signes of death approaching; In which extremity, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* being there present, who seeing it was now the time of times, before the last gaspe, to minister some comfort unto his Highnesse (if as yet there were any sence remaining) came unto him, first speaking aloud; putting him in mind of all those things which hee had spokn unto him the day before in his perfect sence, calling aloud in his eare, to remember *Christ Iesus*, to beleeve, hope, and trust onely in him, with assured confidence of mercy, to lift up his heart, and prepare him to meete the Lord *Iesus*, with many other divine exhortations: Thereafter calling

calling more loud then ever, thrice together in his eare, Sir heare you mee, heare you mee, heare you mee; If you heare mee, in certaine signe of your faith, and hope of the blessed resurrection, give us for our comfort a signe, by lifting up of your hands, which hee did, lifting up both his hands together: Againe hee desired him yet to give him another signe, by lifting up his eyes; which having done, they let him alone; For the Archbishop had with streames of teares, powred out at his bed side, a most exceeding powerfull passionate prayer.

All this while also, from three a clock in the morning untill night, there was continuall prayer in the house, and in every place where the danger was knowne, by which his time growing neerer and neerer, and hee weaker and weaker; Thus did hee lie, patiently striving betwixt death and life, unavoidable necessity, and Gods will forcing patience, and againe invincible courage and magnanimity (loath to bee overcome) shewing some indignation and contempt

tempt of death : yea death it selfe (for all his cruelty) stood a long while hovering in doubt what to doe, so did his Highnesse young yeares, his Triumphes at hand, the teares, and exceeding sorrow of Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the howling cries of his Servants, and of the whole Land (who said, her losse, above all was most unspeakeable) move his hard heart to pittie : But a greater crie before this, having outcried those cries (even the crie of our sinnes) there was no remedy : for death (although unwilling) not being able to resist the forepassed decree, must needs strike the cruell stroke, Many times did hee from that morning untill night offer to shoote and thrust in his dart a little, yet pulling it presently back againe, as it were of purpose delaying the time, expecting some mercifull Message from Heaven, untill at last the cloudy night bewraying the irrevocable doome, by natures decay, the excesse of paine having taken away the sense thereof, of meere pittie, that thereby hee might open unto him the doore of Heaven for his passage into glory,

glory, being loath that the Angell, (who had long attended to convey his Soule unto Heaven, should make any longer stay) he thrust his Dart quite thorow; After which, his Highnesse quietly, gently, and patiently, halfe a quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a clocke at night, yeelded up his Spirit unto his Immortall Maker, Saviour, and Restorer, being attended unto Heaven, with as many Prayers, Teares and strong Cries, as ever Soule was, on Fryday the sixth of November, 1612. The Corps shortly after (as the Custome is) was laide along upon a Table on the floore, being the fairest, clearest, and best proportioned, without any kinde of spot or blemish, as ever was seene.

On the Morrow after came the Lords of the Councell, by appointment from his Majestie, to give order for the opening of his Body, &c. which was the same night effected, about five a clocke in the Evening, in presence of the Physicians and Chirurgions who assisted the Cure, together with the Phisitian of the
Prince

Prince Palatine, with many other Knights, and Gentlemen, in the Chamber where he dyed, by the Chyrurgeons of his Majestie, and his late Highnesse, under all their hands, as followeth.

The skinne like that of a dead man, blacke; but no way spotted with blacknesse, or pale markes; much lesse marked with purples like flea-bites, which could shew any contagious or pestilentiall Venome. About the place of his kidnyes, hips, and behind the thighes, full of rednesse; and by reason that with great paine he had a long while lien upon his backe, his belly somewhat swollen and stretched out, by reason of the windinesse which issued out of the smallest opening made in the Navill, somewhat high naturally, incontinently the belly falling; The stomacke whole and wholesome within and without, having never all his sicknesse time beene troubled with vomitings, loathings, or yealpings, or any other accident which could particularly shew that it was attainted. The Liver without, in his highest parts marked with
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small spots, and in the lower with small blackish lines, paller and blacker then was fitting; The Gall, Bladder, void of any humour, full of wind: The Spleen on the top, and in the lower end blackish, filled with a blacke heavy blood: The Kidneies faire, and without any blemish. The Midriffe under the Filme, or Membrane, containing the heart (which contained a little moisture) spotted with blacke, as it were a Leadish colour, by reason of the bruising: The lungs almost for the greatest part blacke, the rest all spotted with blacke, all imbrewed, and full of a dust blood, with a corrupt and thicke ferocitie, which by a vent made in the body of the Lungs, came forth foaming in great abundance; in which doing, and in cutting the small skinne which environeth the heart, to shew the same, the Surgeon by chance having cut the Trunck of the great veine, the most part of the bloud issued out into the Chest, leaving the lower veines empty; upon sight whereof the Company did draw consequents of an extreame heat and fulnesse, the which appeared yet more evident in this, that the

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windepipes with the throat and tongue were covered with a thicke blacknesse, and amongst other accidents, the tongue cleft, and dry in many places: The heart found and dry, in all appearance, good in all his qualities.

The hinder veines which are in the inmost filme of the braine, called *Pia mater*, swolne and stufte with abundance of blood, a great deale more then naturall; the substance of the braine faire and cleare, but the ventricles thereof full of a cleare water, which after the incision ranne forth in great abundance: One part of which accidents (as they thought) was ingendred, onely by reason of the Fever maligne, by reason of the putrifaction of divers humors gathered together of a long time before, his Highnesse not being subject to any dangerous sicknesse by birth; the other part, by reason of the convulsions, resoundings and benummings, which by reason of the fulnesse, choaking the naturall heat, and destroying the Vitals, by their malignitie, have conveyed his Highnesse to
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the grave, without any token or accident of poyson.

Thus (or very neere thus) lost wee the delight of mankind , the expectation of Nations, the strength of his Father, and glory of his Mother, Religions second hope ; Foolish people imagine that they have done enough, when they have railed upon the Physitians, as though they could have altered Providence, by prolonging his life, never truly beholding the Omnipotent power be-reaving him, which although in his sicknesse, untill the blow was given, could not be seene, yet now (even of the blind) may be easily discerned. And I pray you, if we narrowly looke upon the practise of the meanes, what omission of duty shall we find therein ? Some neere his Highnesse, together with Doctor *Mayern*, at first called and wished he might bleed, others againe, misliked the same, both learned.

The Physitians, although jarring at first in their Propositions and reasons, at

last did every thing by a common consent under all their hands ; Nothing was wanting, which either Art or experience could thinke thereof, whatsoever they did, they alwaies thought most safest and best. They toiled continually day and night, and if it pleased not God to give a blessing to the meanes, must they therefore be blamed? You know *Paul* may plant, and *Apollos* may water but it is God that giveth the increase. But imagine, there had beene any such strife amongst them, the Physitians, as it is reported, what should we thinke thereof, but that the God of Order will sometime have his will, brought to passe, by a kind of confusion, as he overthrew the Tower of *Babel*, with the hosts of *Midian*, &c. So in *Phuicke*, when his will must be done, if it please him to breake and take away the staffe of bread, not blessing the meanes; who, I say, can let him (whose will must be our law) to doe whatsoever he will.

Indeed his Highnesse great and extraordinary patience, striving so long to o-

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vermaster, and hide the same in his health, in my judgement, did much wrong the Physitians, who by reason of his patience, never dreamed of his danger; as also his most wonderfull and matchlesse patience all the time of his Sicknesse, shewing no kind of froward disposition; lying in shew (for any complaints were heard of him) as though hee had never been sicke nor sore. As also the Vrines, which untill a little before his Death, shewed no such danger; with the dangerous unknowne state of his greatest griefe closely rooted in his head (as in the opening hath beene seene) which could not at first be fully knowne, untill too late; the picture of Death by a strange extraordinary countenance, having from the beginning possessed him: vaine rumors also have beene spread abroad, that he was poysoned: But if the former Discourse be well considered, his Death, in my judgement, will appeare to have beene naturall, grounded upon very urgent causes. For the Physitians in opening found no such cause in his internals, upon his skinne being no kinde of

spot, or any such suspicion. To surmise as some have done, that hee was poisoned by a *Sent*, considering the premises, mee thinkes were great folly, contrary to the opinions of all the learned, who upon this relation to his Majesty, proved him free from any such infection: For my part, my skill reacheth not to determine of any thing; onely I thinke it best to hold, that hee died in the rage of a malicious and extraordinary burning Feaver, wherein his vitals and senses were from the beginning so over-pressed, stupified, and amazed, chiefly the heart and head, which notwithstanding all cordials and other helps used (God not blessing the meanes) could never bee releaved.

The Monday after, the Right honorable the Lords of the Privy Counsell of his Majesty, with exceeding care came to Saint *Iameses*, to give order for all things belonging to so wofull a businesse; according to which, the whole House, Chappell, great Chamber, Presence, Lobby, Privy Chamber, and Bed Chamber

Chamber were all hung in black with all things fitting, thick set with Scutcheons of his Highnesse divers Armes, which being done, under the State in the Chamber where hee first sickened, appointed for the Coffin, there was a place erected above an Ell in heighth, where it was to stand to bee watched untill the Funerall; Threescore and tenne Gentlemen of his Servants, ordinary and extraordinary (which were all hee had) being appointed night and day to attend the same, tenne at a time, it being so ordered that the tenne who watched in the night, did constantly wait the third day after; Meane while was order given that the Funerall should bee solemnized on Monday the 7. of *December* following; untill which time, I will not renew griefes in remembring the unspeakeable sorrow which was in that wofull House, now longing to doe their last duty.

The time of the Funerall now approaching, on Thursday the third day of *December*, the Coffin was removed
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from the Chamber where it stood all this while, unto the Privy Chamber, there being watched for that night. On the morrow it was removed from thence to the presence Chamber, where it remained all that night untill the next day, being Saturday at three a clock in the afternoone, at which time his crowne and cap of state were set upon a cushion at the head of the Coffin; after which the Heralds marching before the same, the Coffin was removed by the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber unto the great Chamber, where his Guard attended, in which it was set downe for the space of a quarter of an houre; thereafter being lifted againe by the foresaid Gentlemen, it was brought downe staires towards the Chappell, where againe for a pretty while it was set downe in the Court; where being lifted againe, the Gentlemen of his Majesties Chappell singing mournfull ditties before them, it was brought into the Chappell and there placed under a Canopy set with great Armes of the union at full, chained with divers other Scutcheons

cheons and severall Armes, there to remaine untill the Funerall day; This Sunday at night before the Funerall, his representation was brought (made in so short warning, as like him as could be) and apparelled with cloathes, having his creation robes above the same, his cap and crowne upon his head, his Garter, Coller, with a *George* about his neck, his golden staffe in his Right hand lying crosse a little; briefly, every thing as hee was apparelled at the time of his creation; which being done, it was laid on the back on the Coffin, and fast bound to the same, the head thereof being supported by two cushions, just as it was to bee drawne along the streets in the Funerall chariot, drawne by eight black horses, decked with his severall Scutcheons and Plumes.

But now the time being come, and all things to adorne the Triumphes of his mournefull *Hadadrimons* black day, the Funerall being foure houres in marshalling and marching, set forth about tenne a clock in the morning, there being

ing(as was thought)the number of 2000. Mourners in black; the Relation whereof were now to no purpose; since the order, rankes, and names are already printed in a booke to be seene; As it passed along, the whole World, sensible and insensible things, and creatures seemed to mourne, and have compassion, heaven and earth and all; There was to be seene an innumerable multitude of all sorts of ages and degrees of men, women, and children, whose wonderfull sorrow who is able to expresse? some holding in their heads, not being able to endure so sorrowfull a sight, all mourning, which they expressed by severall sorts of lamentation and sorrow, some weeping, crying, howling, wringing of their hands, others halfe dead, sounding, sighing inwardly, others holding up their hands, passionately bewayling so great a losse, with Rivers, nay with an Ocean of teares: Well, on they came at last to *Westminster Abbey* the buriall place, where, after the dolefull musick of all sorts being ended, the Coffin was set under a great stately Herse built

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Quadrangle wise with eight Pillars, shewing three to the view on each side foure square, Cannopy like, rising small on the top, trimmed and set thick within and without with divers Scutchions, small flagges, and pensels of his Highnesse severall Armes of the Vnion chained, *Scotland, Wales, Cornewall, Chester, Rothsay, Carrick, &c.* mingled heere and there with his Highnesse *Motto, Fax mentis honesta Gloria*, and that of the Funerall Herse, *Furvat ire per Altum*. After which the whole Assembly having taken their places, banners, bannarets, and pensils of all sorts being at rest, after an universall silence, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who was appointed to doe his Highnesse the last duty) was seene in the Pulpit, who with a grave sober countenance, shewing the inward sorrow of his heart, after a little pause and prayer, did with exceeding passion make the Funerall Sermon; Of which though you write that you are marvailous desirous to heare the relation, yet I am loath to say any thing, fearing to wrong so grave and great a Person;

Person; Neverthelesse, since I have adventured thus farre (I hope without offence) I shall heere (as neere as I can remember) rehearse a word or two thereof, whereby you may judge of the rest.

The Text was out of the 82. *Psalme* the sixt and seventh Verses: *I have said yee are Gods, and yee are Children of the most high: But yee shall die as a Man, and yee Princes shall fall like others.* Where after hee had most learnedly by way of introduction spoken of the Authour, occasion, scope, and meaning of this *Psalme*, he devided the same into two maine branches. First, the Exaltation of *Princes*, *I have said yee are Gods, &c.* Secondly, in what respect they are so called: Again, in the humiliation, least they should bee out of measure exalted, he admirably proved by infinite variety of examples, both divine and morall, the vanity and inconstancy of greatnesse, with all the shadowish toyes thereof; Thirdly, for ocular prooffe and use of all, inviting their eyes to the present dolefull spectacle of their late ever renowned *Prince*,
who,

who, not long agoe, was as fresh, brave, and gallant as the best of them, unto whom all the delights and pleasures of the World did begge for acquaintance, lacking nothing which heart could wish for, who yet now for our sinnes lay thus low, bereaved of life and all being, forced to prove the truth of this Text, not onely to fall, but to fall as others.

After which, when hee had most truly and excellently shewed a part of his Highnesse Excellencies, and many Noble vertues (for all was not possible) chiefly his rare and singular piety both in himselfe, and in the government of his Houshold, which hee so extolled, that hee professed hee would not bee ashamed hereafter to propose the same for a rule unto himselfe. For consolation unto them all, hee shewed the exceeding measure of felicity, his Highnesse had attained unto by death, and that now in respect of himselfe hee was not to be pittied, being compared with those, who had out lived him, the same
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one brave ship lying amongst a number of others, all tending towards one Haven, whither at length they must needs all come, or ship-broken perish by the way, which setting forth betimes, as it were, new, fresh, and strong, with a faire gale of wind, arriveth quickly without any danger at the Haven of safety; whereas the rest loytering a long time by these, and these Inticements, set forth at last in a more dangerous season, some overladen, some missing of their way, some with leaks, some wracked, some starved, some drowned, all exceedingly tempest-beaten; with much adoe recovering their desired Haven: Even so, hee said, his late Highnesse had gotten the like advantage of all those that had outlived him; all which laded with infinite more finnes, indangering their safe passage, must either perish by the way, or storme beaten, arive with much toyle, whither hee betimes with ease attained. So with exhortation unto all, to make right use thereof, with exceeding great passion and many teares, hee ended.

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This very day also the two Universities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, did solemnize this blacke day, with all the signes of sorrow which could be imagined, having in their two Universitie Churches, Funerall Sermons, all mourning, both in heart, habite, and countenance; the fore-runners of which their extreame sorrow, long before this, in their severall Bookes of mourning *Epitaphs* burst forth, *Oxford* in her *Iusta Oxon*: and *Cambridge* in her *Epicedium Cantabrig*: &c. with divers other Orations to this purpose. The Funerall Sermon in Saint *Maries Oxon*: was Preached by Doctor *Goodwin* Deane of *Christ-Church* Colledge there; The Text being out of *Esay*, the 57. 1. *The Righteous perisheth, and no man considereth it in his heart; and mercifull men are taken away from the evill to come.*

In which he was not onely exceedingly moved himselfe, but also moved the whole Universitie, and City, to shedde fountaines of teares.

The other of *Cambridge* was Preached
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by Doctor *Carey*, Master of *Christs Colledge*, and Vicechancellour of the Univerſitie, his Text being out of the ſecond of *Samuel*, Chap. 3. verſe 34. the laſt words of the Verſe: *And all the people wept againe for him.* In ſpeaking whereof, and weeping himſelfe, hee made all the people weepe againe and againe.

The Archbiſhops Sermon (as aforeſaid) being ended, the Earles, Lords, and Barons, &c. by this time having offered up their ſeverall Banners, and Honours which they carried, as alſo the great Officers of his Houſe, Sir *Thomas Challenor* Chamberlaine, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treasuſurer, Sir *John Hollis* Comptrouler, together with his three Gentlemen-Uſhers, *Walter Alexander*, *Anthony Abington*, and *John Lumley*, having all by degrees (Sir *Thomas Challenor* beginning) broken their White ſtaves and Rods croſſe-wiſe over the Coffin, thereby reſigning their places, the Aſſembly diſſolved, the Coffin with the representation (as is before ſaid) remaining ſtill under the Hearſe, to be ſeene of all, untill
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the 19. of the said Moneth of *December*, when decked and trimmed with cloathes, as he went when hee was alive, Robes, Coller, Crowne, Golden Rodde in his hand, &c. it was set up in a Chamber of the said Chappell at *Westminster*, amongst the Representations of the Kings and Queenes, his famous Predecessors; where it remaineth for ever to be seene.

He was of a comely tall middle stature, about five foot and eight inches high, of a strong, streight well-made body (as if Nature in him had shewed all her cunning) with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste, of an amiable Majesticke Countenance, his haire of an Aborne collour, long faced, and broad forehead; a piercing grave eye, a most gracious smile, with a terrible frowne, courteous, loving, and affable; his favour like the Sunne, indifferently seeming to shine upon all, naturally shamefaced, and modest, most patient, which he shewed both in life and death; slow to anger, that even then, when hee was many times most offended, he would

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(overcomming himselfe) say nothing; mercifull he was after he had a little punished the offenders; neither did hee judge rashly, but after due examination of both parties; Dissimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a Prince, not willing, nor by nature being able to flatter, fawne, or use those kindly who deserved not his love. Quicke hee was to conceive any thing, not rash, but mature in deliberation, yet most constant having resolved: true of his promise, most secret even from his youth; so that hee might have beene trusted in any thing that did not force a discovery: being of a close disposition, not easie to be known, or pried into: of a fearelesse, noble, Heroicke, and undanted courage, thinking nothing impossible, that ever was done by any: a few faire words prevailed more with him, then all the threats of the world: very pittifull and tenderhearted unto any in misery, whom upon Petition, he ever some way releevd.

Most ardent in his love to Religion,
which love, and all the good causes there-
of

of, his heart was bent by some meanes or other (if he had lived) to have shewed, and some way to have compounded the unkind Iarres thereof; He well shewed his love to good men, and hatred of the evill, in discerning a good Preacher from a vaine-glorious, in whom above all things he abhorred flattery, loving and countenancing the good; of the idle and loytering never speaking but with disdain; in which he shewed he had a heart flexible to good, and all kind of goodnes, which (as I thinke) was the cause one day, he uttered this speech of the Deane of *Rocheſter* his Chaplaine.

That he thought, whereas hee and others like him, at their first entry into the Pulpit, did looke him in the face, their countenance did, as it were say unto him: Sir, you must heare me diligently; you must have a care to observe what I say: As also in his constancie in observing the Prayer time, duely before Dinner and Supper, which untill his death hee never willingly omitted, whatsoever haste hee had, or were it never so late.

What should I yet adde, his conscience of an Oath, that hee was never heard (I now appeale to Envy it selfe) to take Gods Name in vaine, with an addition of any other seeming light, much lesse horrible Oathes, with full swinge of passion; witnesse the testimony of the Most Reverend, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Funerall Sermon, wherein was remembred by him, (amongst many other things) that ever memorablereply of his Highnesse, who being asked one day (by one that greatly rejoyced, his Highnesse was no swearer) why he did not sweare in play aswell as others; to his eternall praise made this reply, That he knew no Game worthy of an Oath.

To live long he never desired, nor aspired, many times saying, That it was to small purpose for a brave gallant man, when the prime of his dayes were past, to live so long untill he were full of aches, soares, &c. uttering contemptible speeches of Death; affirming many times, that hee neither desired, nor aspired, or hoped

hoped to live long, and that when hee should be sicke three or foure daies together, then God have mercy on me, would he say.

Popery with all the adjuncts and adherents thereof, hee hated to the death, yet he would now and then use particular Papists very kindly, shewing that hee hated not their persons, but their opinions.

I must not forget his love to Learning, to the Muses, to all the Learned who any way did excell; to the two Universities, chiefly *Oxenford* (because mourning *Cambridge* did never injoy his presence) whose unspeakeable sorrow for his death, will shew the great portion of his love they injoyed. I should but increase sorrow, to tel you how exceeding kindly their Vice-chancellour, Doctors, Graduates, and Students were used, when they came to see him at *Woodstock*; What care he had to give them contentment, how carefull he was, and what speciall commands were generally given throughout the whole house,

house, that they should not want the same; of his mild and grave carriage towards them, and his loving speeches in their absence.

No lesse carefull hee was to obey the King his Father in every thing, being also very diligent to observe and honour the Queene his Mother, so much as in him lay, or as possible hee might; wise hee was to know and not know, see and not see, almost every thing which was done or said. Wonderfull was his care and wisdom in governing of his house, and renewes, giving order and seeing every thing done almost himselfe, so that scarce were there any of his Household Servants whom hee did not know by name, amongst whom there was not one knowne or suspected Papist; his care being so great, that all Communicantes names should bee written up, that hee might know if there were any, that would not receive.

So that I may most truly affirme, that since the beginning of Princes house

house did ever exceede him in all things; His Revenewes hee left increased by thousands a yeare; Sparing hee was, yet liberall where either honesty, desert, or poverty did move him; neither (whatsoever the World thinke) was hee ever knowne to give away any thing, or promise any thing but upon mature deliberation; As for those pensious which hee gave a little before his death, they were either given to such as had very well deserved them, or who having spent their meanes in his service, hee could not out of his Noble disposition but relieve, thinking it better to doe so, then bestow upon them other unknowne suites and leases, which otherwise hee must needs have done; Hee was loving and kind to Strangers, whose hearts upon small acquaintance hee did easily gaine. In state matters and petitions not pertaining unto him, hee was ever sparing and not willing to meddle: In his owne affaires touching coppy-holds, leases, or any thing of like nature, whatsoever abuses were, hee ever redressed, or minded to helpe, upon petition of the party aggrieved.

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Friday being the day wherein hee died (I know not by what naturall inclination, or motion) hee did not of a long time before his death love, misliking it aboveall the dayes of the weeke, upon which hee would not willingly use any kind of exercise, or ride any journey, sometimes not so much as play at cards thereon, alleaging that hee continually found some indisposition upon that day, and that hee never had good luck upon a Friday, such an ominous conceit of the dismalnesse of this day having possessed him, which at length proved to bee the period of his dayes.

He loved and did mightily strive to doe somewhat of every thing, and to excell in the most excellent; Hee greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of Engines belonging to the Warres, both by Sea and Land: In the bravery and number of great horses; in shooting and levelling of great peeces of Ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of Armes; in building and gardening, and in all sorts of
rare

rare musique, chiefly the trumpet and drumme; in limming and painting, carving, in all sorts of excellent and rare Pictures, which hee had brought unto him from all Countries.

What should I say more of him? over and above all these things, hee had a certaine kind of extraordinary unspeakeable excellency, my fraile penne and dull stile not being able to expresse the same, gathered (out of question) by him long agoe from the plentifull Garden of the King his Fathers all admired *Basilicon-doron*, long since in his youth dedicated unto him.

I dare sweare, none will thinke an ill thought, much lesse speake an ill word of him, unlesse it bee some *Ianus-faced* Machivillian, or hollow hearted Gunpowderers, who as they would have blowne up King, Progeny, and State, cannot choose now but barke against him, who was a terrour to all the Papists in Christendome.

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As hee was a Man, no question but hee had imperfectious as others (otherwise hee could not have conversed with men) which I professe, I neither knew, nor delighted to search after; or if I had, you know of all others, I am rather boud to cover and conceale the same with *Shem* and *Japhet*, then with *Ham* to shew his nakednesse; If I were able, yet certainly whatsoever they were, such a number of noble vertues did cover and weigh downe the same, eclipsing their light, that they could not easily bee perceived, unlesse it were perhaps by some maliciously bent, who though they might have gathered great store of honey, have rather chosen (like droanes) to open the gall; whom I also leave to the gall of bitternesse untill it consume them.

Wherefore now since his Soule resteth in Heaven (whereof I intreat you doubt not) let us also leave him; For his good life in generall, his unfaigned love to Religion, his love to good men, his sound, and saving knowledge,
and

and practice of the same, his attentive and reverent hearing of the word, his humble flexible heart easily cast downe, and drawne by the same, with many other good things, which were in him, are sure signes of the favour of God, and consequently of his salvation. To which if wee consider with what innumerable prayers, and strong cries, his soule was attended unto Heaven, wee may rest fully satisfied of his felicity; For although the extremity of paine from the beginning of his sicknesse, did as it were stupifie and bereave him of sense, that hee could not give those wished testimonies to the World at full; (the Lord choosung to try him in the furnace of affliction) yet since wee shall bee judged not according to our death, but according to our life (although his death in such an extremity, as is shewed, was very good, wee may certainly conclude, that his Soule now praiseth God.

Wherefore when we misse him where we were wont to see him, let us lift up
our

our mindes to a higher Watch-tower, remembering that his Soule now resteth in Heaven, where all cares, troubles, soares, sickenneses, crosses, and afflictions, shall no more annoy him ; where the feares, jarres, jealousies, discontentments, mutenies, uproares, & dissentions of State shall never vex him ; where he shall hunger no more, thirst no more, desire no more, having all tears wiped from his eies, in place of those fraile ones, which could not here indure the sight of the Candle, now beholding him whose eyes are tenne thousand times brighter then the Sunne, following the Lambe whithersoever hee goeth, and in the Heaven of Heavens, injoying the blessed fruition of his God, in the company of Millions of his Saints and Angels, waiting for the full revelation and felicitie of the Sonnes of God, and renovation of us all, when God shall be All in All ; where let us leave him (of whom we are not worthy untill we be gathered unto him) admiring his incomprehensible Wisdome which did bereave us, untill he let us know by experience, how hee will bring light out of darke-

darkenesse : For since he is goodnesse it selfe, his will (whatsoever it be) must needs be good ; And I pray you, what, how many, how great, and how wonderfull things hath the Almighty done with this one blow, in humbling of some, curbing the pride of others, casting some downe, and againe in raising up of others; letting all see, as in a Mirrour, the vaine inconstancie of Greatnesse, making some others inexcusable, if they receive no good from so sensible a Lesson, with infinite moe, knowne onely to the All-sufficient, All-seeing Majestie.

Let us therefore admire the infinite and incomprehensible Wisdome of Almighty God, which so soone translated him from this Vale of darknesse, and misery, into that marvellous joy and light, although it seem strange unto our blind eies: For what know we but that the boyling head-strong passions of youth, evill company (which corrupteth good manners) the raines of Liberty, the corruption of time, with infinite other inticements, wherunto flesh and blood are prone,
might

might have corrupted him, when dying with a consumed body, and a more corrupted Soule, he might with an evil Conscience (though full of years) have gone to the grave, with farre more hatred, laden with innumerable more sinnes, then now he did; when by the contrary, with the love, prayers, and teares of all, hee was attended unto Heaven.

Thus have I beene bold to trouble you, and out of my love (for satisifying your curiosity) to exceede the bounds of a short Letter; which if you mildly Censure, with an impartiall judgement, pardoning and excusing what you finde amisse, you shall encourage me ever to remaine, as still I am

Your assured Freind,

Charles Cornwallis.

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